

The Central American Question.

SPEECH OF HON. ELI THAYER, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 7, 1858.

Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose to offer an amendment to the resolution which is now before the Committee, for the purpose of widening the proposed investigation. I do not intend to discuss at all the topics which the Committee has been considering during the past three days. I am not here to consider whether Mr. Walker was legally or illegally arrested, or whether Commodore Paulding is to be censured or applauded for his action. I shall express no sympathy with the course pursued by the President. I have no intention to discuss his position in relation to this matter, neither is it my purpose to enter the lists with the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. Maynard,] who eulogized the heroism of Mr. Walker—a man, who, claiming to be the President of Nicaragua, and to represent in his own person the sovereignty of that State, surrendered without a protest, and without a blow, to a power upon his own soil, which he claimed to be an invading force. Whether this be heroism, I shall not now inquire.

I thrust aside, for the present, all questions of legal technicality in this matter; all the mysteries of the construction of the neutrality laws; all these questions which have engrossed the attention of the House during the last three days, and concerning which everybody has been speaking, and nobody caring; and I come to that great, paramount, transcendent question, about which everybody is caring and nobody is speaking: "How shall we Americanize Central America?"

It may be a matter of surprise that I pass over two or three questions which in their natural order seem to be antecedent to this one. And these questions

are: First, Do we *wish* to Americanize Central America? Secondly, *Can* we Americanize Central America? Thirdly, *Shall* we Americanize Central America?

Now, Mr. Chairman, I say that whoever has studied the history of this country, and whoever knows the character of this people, and whoever can infer their destiny from their character and their history, knows that these three preliminary questions are already answered by the American people—that we *do wish* to Americanize Central America; that we *can* Americanize Central America; and that we *shall* Americanize Central America.

And now, Mr. Chairman, in relation to the manner and agency. *How can we Americanize Central America?* Shall we do it legally and fairly, or illegally and unfairly? Shall we do it by conferring a benefit on the people of Central America, or shall we do it by conquest, by robbery, and violence? Shall we do it without abandoning national laws, and without violating our treaty stipulations? Shall we do it in accordance with the law of nations and the laws of the United States, or shall we do it by force, blood, and fire?

Now, Mr. Chairman, my position is this: that we will do it legally; that we will do it in accordance with the highest laws, human and divine.

By the way, sir, I did agree with the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Haskin,] when he told us yesterday that he was not in favor of petit larceny; but I did not agree with him when he said he was in favor of grand larceny. I regret that a Representative of the people of the United States in the Council Hall of the nation should say to his constituents, to the nation, and to the world, that he and the

Democratic party were "rather in favor of grand larceny." Larceny is *larceny*; and you cannot say a meaner thing about it than to call it by its own name. I am pained that this report has gone forth, that any party, or that any individual in this House, or connected with this Government, is in favor of grand larceny or petit larceny. Larceny, grand or petit, is not only disgraceful, but is absolutely and utterly contemptible. We do not go for the acquisition or Americanization of territory by larceny of any kind whatever, but fairly, openly, and honorably.

Then, sir, by what agency may we thus Americanize Central America? I reply to the question, by the power of organized emigration. That is abundantly able to give us Central America as soon as we want it. We could have Americanized Central America half a dozen times by this power within the last three years, if there had been no danger or apprehension of meddling or vexatious Executive interference. But if we are to use this mighty power of organized emigration, we want a different kind of neutrality laws from those which we now have; and therefore I am desirous that this Committee shall recommend something which shall not subject us to the misconstruction of the President of the United States, or to his construction at all. I want these neutrality laws so plain that every man may know whether he is in the right or in the wrong, whether he is violating those laws or is not violating them. For, Mr. Chairman, with our new-fashioned kind of emigration, with our organized emigration, which goes in colonies, and therefore must, of necessity, to some extent resemble a military organization, there is great danger that a President with a dim intellect may make a mistake, and subject to harassing and vexatious delays, and sometimes to loss and injury, a peaceful, quiet colony, going out to settle in a neighboring State.

Mr. Chairman, I can illustrate this position. You, sir, remember that in the year 1856, when it was *bad travelling* across the State of Missouri, on the way to Kansas, that our colonies went through the State of Iowa, and through the Territory of Nebraska. These were peaceful, quiet colonies, going to settle in the Territory of Kansas, by that long and wearisome

journey, because it was *bad travelling* through the State of Missouri. You remember that one of these colonies of organized emigrants, which went from Maine and Massachusetts, and from various other Northern States, was arrested just as it was passing over the southern boundary of the Territory of Nebraska, on its way to its future home in Kansas. It was a peaceful, quiet colony, going out with its emigrant wagons, "all in a row," and therefore looking something like a military organization—going out with their women and their children, with sub-soil plows with coulters a yard long, [laughter,] with pick-axes, with crow-bars, with shovels, and with garden seeds. This beautiful colony was arrested by the officials of the present Executive's predecessor. It was by some mistake, no doubt. Perhaps he took the turnip-seed for powder; and I doubt whether the case would have been better if the President had been there himself. This colony was arrested within our own dominion. It was not an emigration to a foreign country, and there was no danger of interference with the neutrality laws. These quiet, peaceful colonists, because their wagons went in a row for mutual defence, through the wild, uncultivated Territory of Nebraska, where there were Indians, they were arrested as a military organization. We do not want hereafter, either within the limits of the United States or without them, any such meddling and vexatious interference by the executive power of this Government. Therefore, I say, let us have some neutrality laws that can be understood. If there had been no apprehensions in the North about the neutrality laws, if we had not expected that whatever emigration we might have fitted out for Central America would have been arrested within the marine league of the harbor of Boston, why, we would have colonized Central America years ago, and had it ready for admission into the Union before this time. We want a modification or an elucidation of the neutrality laws, and I trust that it will be the duty of the committee so to report.

Before I proceed to consider the power and benefits of this system of organized emigration, and the reason why it ought not to be rejected by this House, I will proceed, as briefly as I can, to show the interests which the Northern portion of

this country has in Americanizing Central America, as contrasted with the interests which the Southern portion has in doing the same thing. I come, then, to speak of the immense interests which the Northern States have in this proposed enterprise. I am astonished, that so far in this debate the advocates for Americanizing Central America seem to be mostly from those States which border on the Gulf of Mexico. As yet, I have heard no man from the Northern States advocating the same thing. Let us look at the interests of the Northern States in this question, and then at those of the Southern States.

These Northern States are, as the States of Northern Europe were designated by Tacitus, *officina gentium*, "the manufactory of nations." We can make one State a year. In the last three years we have colonized almost wholly the Territory of Kansas. We have furnished settlers to Minnesota and Nebraska, and the Lord knows where, but we have not exhausted one-half of our natural increase. We have received accessions to our numbers in that time, from foreign countries, of more than one million of souls, and now we have no relief; we are worse off to-day than we were when we began to colonize Kansas. We must have an outlet somewhere for our surplus population. [Laughter.]

Sir, I have a resolution in my pocket, which I have been carrying about for days, waiting patiently for an opportunity to present it in this House, instructing the Committee on Territories to report a bill organizing and opening for settlement the Indian Territory. Mr. Chairman, I came to this conclusion with reluctance, that we must have the Indian Territory. But necessity knows no law. We must go somewhere. Something must be opened to the descendants of the Pilgrims. [Laughter.] Why, sir, just look at it. We are crammed in between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The bounding billows of our emigration are dashing fiercely against both sides of the Rocky Mountains. Obstructed now by these barriers, this westward-moving tide begins to set back. Will it flow towards Canada? Not at all. It has already begun to flow over the "Old Dominion," [laughter,] and into other States. Missouri is almost inundated with it. We cannot check this tide of flowing

emigration. You might as well try to shut out from this continent, by curtains, the light of the aurora borealis. No such thing can be accomplished. This progress must be onward, and we *must* have territory. We must have territory; and I think it most opportune that the proposition seems to be before the country to Americanize Central America. A better time could not be; for, in addition to the population which we now have, which is immense in the Northern States, as I shall show you in proceeding, this financial pressure in the East, and in the different nations of Europe, will send to our shores in the year 1858 not less than half a million of men. In addition to that, we have two hundred and fifty thousand of our own population, who will change localities in that time. Then, sir, there are seven hundred and fifty thousand men to be prepared for, somewhere, in the year 1858—men enough, sir, to make eight States, if we only had Territories in which to put them, and if we only use them economically, [laughter,] as we are sure to do by this system of organized emigration.

Now, could anything be more opportune, at this time, than to have this project submitted to us, of opening Central America to settlement? I assure you, if the Committee will report any bill which will enable the people of the North, without larceny of any kind, without tyranny of any kind, to settle that country, I will postpone my resolution for the opening of the Indian Territory, at least until the next session of Congress.

But it is not only for the purpose of furnishing an outlet for our immense population in the North that I now advocate the Americanizing of Central America. The interests of commerce, as well as this great argument of necessity, are on our side. Who has the trade beyond Central America? We have whale fisheries in the Northern Ocean, which build up great cities upon the eastern shore of Massachusetts. We have trade with Oregon and California, with the Sandwich Islands, and the western coast of South America. We are opening a trade, destined to be an immense trade, with the Empires of China and Japan, and we must of necessity have in Central America certain factors and certain commercial agencies, who, in a very few years, with

their families and relatives and dependents, will make a dense population in Central America. I say, then, that for the interests of commerce we want Central America Americanized. This commercial interest is, unfortunately, a sectional interest in these States. It is, emphatically, a Northern interest; and therefore, as a Northern man, I advocate especially that Central America should be Americanized.

Now, sir, I said I was astonished that gentlemen who come from States bordering upon the Gulf, had advocated this project, and not the Representatives who come from Northern States. Let us see the reasons why the North should be more zealous than the South in this movement. In the State of Massachusetts we have one hundred and twenty-seven people to a square mile, by the census of 1850. In the State of Rhode Island we have one hundred and twelve to the square mile, by the same census. In the State of Connecticut we have seventy-nine. In the State of New York we have sixty-five. So, you see, it was not fiction, it was not poetry, not a stretch of the imagination, when I told you that the descendants of the Pilgrims were in a tight place. [Laughter.]

But how is it with the States which border upon the Gulf? Look at it and see. They have, some of them, eighty-nine hundredths of a man to the square mile. [Laughter.] In another one we have one and the forty-eight hundredth part of a man to the square mile; and, taking them altogether, we have just about three men to the square mile in all those States which border upon the Gulf of Mexico.

Now, sir, it would be folly for me to argue, and there is no kind of reason for supposing, that these States expect to do anything about colonizing Central America. They cannot afford to lose a man. They had better give away two thousand dollars than to lose a single honest, industrious citizen. They cannot afford it. I have left out of this calculation, to be sure, the enumeration of the slaves in those States, for the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Maynard] informed us that the question of Slavery did not come into this argument properly, and I agree with him there. I think he may agree with me, that by no possibility can Slavery ever

be established in Central America. That is my belief. Just fix your neutrality laws, and we will fill up Central America before 1860 sufficiently to be comfortable.

Mr. MAYNARD. With the permission of the gentleman, I desire to ask him whether he will pledge himself for his constituents, and for all those he represents, that when they get down there they will not make slaves of the people they find there?

Mr. THAYER. Certainly I will do it; and I will say more on that subject hereafter. I will say to the gentlemen upon the other side who have advocated this right of emigration, and have no personal interest in this matter, that they can have no pecuniary interest in it, for they have no men to spare for this enterprise. And especially do I honor the gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. Quitman,] who professed to be moved by arguments of philanthropy in relation to this question, and who maintained that the people of Central America were oppressed, that they needed our assistance, and that it was conferring a benefit upon them to send out colonies among them to aid them to get rid of their oppressors. This is more than patriotism. It approaches universal brotherhood. I am glad that that gentleman is defending the rights of emigration. No man prizes those rights more highly than I do. I think that I understand their power and their value, and I am glad to welcome among the list of political regenerators the gentleman from Mississippi with such large, wide, and noble views upon this question. I do not here endorse his whole speech. I did not hear the whole of it. I do not know what he said about Mr. Walker, whether he defends him, or whether he does not. For myself, I do not say that I defend him, or that I do not, at this time. I wait for the report of our committee, to know what are the facts in this case, and whether he is fit to be defended or not.

Now, sir, I am rejoiced that I have found aid and comfort in a great political missionary movement from a quarter where I least expected it. This argument of philanthropy is sufficiently potent with the South; while I will not deny that it is always, more or less, potent with the North, perhaps not so potent with the North as with the South—

very likely we are more material and less spiritual—but still, I say, it has some power at the North. We do not live so near the sun as do those gentlemen who border on the Gulf; but we live near enough to the sun to have some warmth in our hearts, and the appeals of philanthropy to us are not made in vain.

But, in addition to that, just look at it, sir! In addition to that great argument of philanthropy, we have not only the argument of necessity, but the argument of making money; and when you take those three arguments, and combine them, you make a great motive power, which is sufficient, in ordinary cases, to move Northern men, though they are not very mobile nor very fickle.

So much, Mr. Chairman, for the comparison of interests between the Northern and Southern people of these United States in relation to the Americanizing of Central America.

I come now to discuss, briefly, the power and benefits of this new mode of emigration. And, sir, what is its power? I tell you its power is greater than that which is wielded by any potentate or emperor upon the face of God's footstool. If we can form a company, or a number of companies, which can control the emigration of this country—the foreign emigration and native emigration—I tell you, sir, that that company, or those companies, will have more power than any potentate or emperor upon the face of the earth; and that company, or those companies, may laugh at politicians; they may laugh, sir, at the President and his Cabinet; at the Supreme Court, and at Congress; for all these powers of the Government, great and mighty as they are, can do nothing, in accordance with the Constitution of this land, which can in any way interfere with our progress, or prevent our making cities and States and nations wherever and whenever we please. Then, sir, there can be no doubt about the power of this agency, which, I tell you, is the right one for us to make use of in getting Central America if we want it, or in Americanizing Central America, as we are sure to do.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have said nothing about annexing Central America to the United States. For myself, I care nothing about it, and I do not know whether the

people of this country are ready for that proposition yet. I think, however, they would rather annex a thousand square leagues of territory than to lose a single square foot. To be sure, sir, we have a few men in the North who honestly hate this Union. I will not criticise their views. I will not condemn them for their views. They have a right to cherish just what views they please in relation to this question. Sir, there are still a large number of sour and disappointed politicians, who, though they do not profess hatred to this Union, do, to a certain extent, profess indifference as to its continuance. But the great and overwhelming majority of the people of the North, sir, as a unit, are determined that *no force*, internal or external, shall ever wrest from the jurisdiction of the United States a single square foot of our territory, unless it first be baptized in blood and fire. That is the sentiment of the great majority of the people of the North—that no portion of the territory of this Government shall ever be released from our possession. We understand that this Union is a partnership for life, and that the bonds that hold us together cannot by any faculty be sundered until this great Government is first extinguished and its power annihilated. That, sir, is our sentiment about the Union, and such may be the present sentiment about annexation. But I have no doubt what the future sentiment of the country will be about annexation. I have no doubt we will have Central America in this Government, and all between them and Central America also.

Well, sir, we have now come to the grand missionary age of the world, which we do not send out preachers alone, perplexing people who are in ignorance and barbarism with abstract logical dogmas; but with the preachers we send the church, we send the school, we send the mechanic and the farmer, we send all that makes up great and flourishing communities; we send the power that build cities; we send steam-engine men, which are the greatest apostles of liberty that this country has ever seen. This is the modern kind of missionary emigration, and it has wonderful power on the continent, and is destined to have on the world, too, for it is just as good against one kind of evil as another; and it can just

well be exerted against idol worship in Hindostan and China, as against oppression and despotism in Central America.

But we take the countries that are nearest first; and now we propose to use this mighty power in originating a nation in quick time for Central America. We read of a time when "a nation shall be born in a day." I think it may be done in some such way as this. By this method of emigration the pioneer does not go into the wilderness

Alone, unfriended, melancholy slow," dragging at each remove a length'ning chain," tearing away from the institutions of religion and education, himself and family; but Christianity herself goes hand in hand with the pioneer; and not Christianity alone, but the offspring of Christianity, an awakened intelligence, and all the inventions of which she is the mother; creating all the differences between an advanced and enlightened community and one in degradation and ignorance. Sir, in years gone by, our emigration has ever tended toward barbarism; but now, by this method, it is tending to higher civilization than we have ever witnessed. Why, sir, by this plan, a new community starts on as high a plane as the old one had ever arrived at; and leaving behind the dead and decayed branches which encumbered the old, with the vigorous energies of youth it presses on and ascends. Sir, such a State will be the state of Kansas, eclipsing in its progress all the other States of this nation, because it was colonized in this way. The people, in this way, have not to serve half a century of probation in semi-barbarism. They begin with schools and churches, and you will see what the effect is upon communities that are so established.

But I will speak now of that which constitutes the peculiar strength of emigration in this kind, and that is, *the profit of the thing*. I have shown you how efficient it is, and I will now show you how the method works, to some extent. It is profitable for every one connected with it; it is profitable to the people where the colonies go; it is profitable to the people of the colonies; and it is profitable to the company, which is the guiding star and the protecting power of the colonies. It is good everywhere. It does evil nowhere.

Sir, you cannot resist a power like this. A good man often feels regret when he knows that by promoting a good cause he is at the same time sacrificing his own means of doing good, and is becoming weaker and weaker every day. It is a great drawback upon beneficent enterprises, even upon philanthropic and Christian enterprises, that the men who sustain them are lessening their own means of doing good by it. Sir, it is a great mistake to suppose that a good cause can only be sustained by the life-blood of its friends. But when a man can do a magnanimous act, when he can do a decidedly good thing, and at the same time make money by it, all his faculties are in harmony. [Laughter.] You do not need any great argument to induce men to take such a position, if you can only induce them to believe that such is the effect. Well, sir, such is the effect; and now let us apply it to the people of Central America. What reason will they have to complain, if we send among them our colonies, organized in this way with their sub-soil plows, their crow-bars, their hoes, their shovels, and their garden-seeds? What reason will they have to complain? Why, the fact is, that, unless our civilization is superior to theirs, the effort would, in the beginning, be a failure; it never can make one inch of progress. Then, sir, if we succeed at all, we succeed in planting a civilization there which is superior to theirs; we plant *that* or none. It is impossible for an inferior civilization to supplant a superior civilization except by violence, and it is almost impossible to do it in that way.

Well, sir, if we give them a better civilization, the tendency of that better civilization is to increase the value of real estate; for the value of property, the value of real estate, depends upon the character of the men who live upon the land, as well as upon the number of men who live upon it. Now, sir, we either make an absolute failure in this thing, and do not trouble them at all, or we give them a better civilization, and, in addition to that, we give them wealth.

Thus, sir, with bands of steel we bind the people of Central America to us and to our interests, by going among them in this way; and they cannot have reason to complain, nor will they complain. If we

had approached them in this way two years ago, without this miserable meddling method, induced and warranted, or supposed to be warranted, by the neutrality laws, we would have filled Central America with this time, and would have had with us the blessings of every native citizen in that portion of the country.

Now, sir, if such is the way, if such is the power, if such is the effect of this method, to the emigrants, and to the people among whom they settle, why should we not now adopt it in reference to Central America? And what is the method? Why, it is as plain and simple as it can be. It is just to form a moneyed corporation which shall have two hundred thousand dollars capital; which shall then obtain and spread information through the country, by publications, indicating what are the natural resources of Central America, and the inducements to emigrate thither; showing how it is situated in relation to commerce, and how, of necessity, there must speedily be built upon that soil a flourishing Commonwealth. Then you have to apply a portion of these means to buying land and to sending out steam-engines, and to building some hotels to accommodate the people who go there, and also some receiving houses for the emigrants. Establish there and encourage there the establishment of the mechanic arts, and I tell you that every steam-engine you send there will be the seat of a flourishing town; every one will be an argument for people to go there; for they talk louder than individuals a thousand times, and they are more convincing a thousand times, especially to an ignorant and degraded people, than anything men can say, because the argument is addressed to the senses; it makes them feel comfortable; it gives them good clothes; it gives them money. These are the arguments to address to an ignorant and degraded people, and not cannon balls, or rifle balls, nor yet mere abstract dogmas about liberty or theology. Then let this company be organized so soon as you fix these neutrality laws so that we can get off without these vexatious Executive interferences. [Laughter.] Then we shall see how the thing will work in Central America.

But, sir, I expect, when the people of

the North shall hear that I am taking this view of the question, that the timid will be intensely terrified, and say that we are to have more slave States annexed to the Union. I have not the slightest apprehension of that result. It may be said that Yankees, when they get down into Central America, will, if the climate is suited for it, make use of slave labor. I have heard that argument before; and it has been asserted that the Yankees who go into slave States oftentimes turn slaveholders, and outdo the Southern men themselves. I have no doubt that they outdo them, if they do anything in that line at all. [Laughter.] The Yankee has never become a slaveholder unless he has been forced to it by the social relations of the slave State, where he lived; and the Yankee who has become a slaveholder, has, every day of his life thereafter, felt in his very bones the bad economy of the system. It could not be otherwise. Talk about our Yankees, who go to Central America becoming slaveholders! Why, sir, we can buy a negro power, in a steam-engine, for ten dollars, [laughter,] and we can clothe and feed that power for one year for five dollars; [renewed laughter,] and are we the men to give \$1,000 for an African slave, and \$150 a year to feed and clothe him?

No, sir. Setting aside the arguments about sentimentality and about philanthropy on this question, setting aside all poetry and fiction, he comes right down to the practical question—is it profitable? The Yankee replies, “not at all.” There is no danger of men who go from Boston to Central America ever owning slaves, unless they are compelled to by their social relations there. If a man goes from Boston into Louisiana, and nobody will speak to him unless he has a slave; nobody will invite him to a social entertainment unless he owns a negro; and if he cannot get a wife unless he has a negro; then, sir, very likely he may make up his mind to own a negro. [Laughter.] But I tell you that he will repent of it every day while he has him. He cannot whistle “Yankee Doodle” with the same relish as before. He cannot whittle in the same free and easy manner. He used to cut with the grain, with the knife-edge from him; now, he cuts across the grain, with the knife-edge towards him

The doleful fact that he owns a negro, is a tax upon every pulsation of his heart. Poor man! There is no inducement for the Yankees to spread Slavery into Central America, and there is no power in any other part of the country to do it. Therefore, most fearlessly do I advocate the Americanizing of Central America. We must have some outlet for our overwhelming population. Necessity knows no law; and if we cannot have Central America, we must have the Indian Territory; we must have something; we are not exhausted in our power of emigration; we are worse off than we were before the opening of Kansas. Not one-half of our natural increase has been exhausted in colonizing that Territory, and furnishing people for Oregon and Washington. We might, as I told you, make eight States a year, if we only used our forces economically; and we will use them economically by establishing, not for the present time only, but for all coming time, this system of organized emigration. Just as fast as this has become understood in the country—just as far as it is known to the people—not a single man who has any sense will emigrate in any other way than by colonies. Just look at the difference between men going in a colony and going alone. Suppose a man goes to Central America, and settles there alone; what is his influence upon real estate by settling there alone? There is no appreciable difference from what it was before; but if he goes there with five hundred men from the city of Boston to establish a town, by that very act he has made himself wealthy. I can point to numerous examples of this kind. Hence this making money by organized emigration is not going to be speedily relinquished. Depend upon it that we have only begun to use it, and that we have not used it with the efficiency with which it will be used in a year to come.

Now, sir, for these reasons I hope that the committee to which this question shall be referred, will so modify and elucidate the neutrality laws, that we shall not hereafter be subjected to this Executive interference. And, in accordance with

the views I have expressed, I now offer the following amendment:

"And, also, that said committee report, 'so far as they may be able, the present social and political condition of the people of Nicaragua, and whether they invite colonies from the United States to settle among them; and, also, whether the soil, climate, and other natural advantages of that country are such as to encourage emigration thither from the Northern States of this Confederacy.'"

Now, Mr. Chairman, I will state briefly my reasons for submitting that amendment. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Quitman] referred to the social and political condition of the people of Central America, as a proper basis, I think he said, for our action. Therefore, with open arms, do we welcome that gentleman and his associates to our noble brotherhood of missionary political regenerators. For myself, I am willing to take the gentleman's words about the necessity of something being done to aid these people; but in grave matters of legislation like this, the committee having the subject in charge should first fully investigate in reference to the matters suggested by my amendment.

I do not intend any offensive sectionalism by using the word *Northern*; that the committee should inquire whether the natural advantages of soil and climate of Central America were such as to invite emigration thither from the *Northern States*. I so phrased the amendment because, as I have shown you, the Northern States are the only ones which can furnish emigration that would be of any consequence to Central America. We would be glad to receive whatever help the States on the Gulf could give us, but it is impossible for them to give much help in this work. And because the Northern States have the power in this matter, and because the Southern States have not the power, I have used the words, that the committee shall inquire specially whether the climate and the soil are such as to encourage emigration to Central America from the Northern States. If, however, there be objection to it, I will strike out the word "*Northern*," and leave the inquiry to be general.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS.

1858.